"WICKEDNESS IN HIGH PLACES."

A DISCOURSE

OCCASIONED BY THE BILL FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF

KANZAS AND NEBRASKA,

PASSED BY THE

Senate of the United States,

MARCH 4, 1854.

DELIVERED IN THE

NORTH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,

OF CHICAGO.....MARCH 5, 1854.

BY THE

REV. R. H. RICHARDSON, PASTOR.

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REQUEST.

Chicago, March 6th, 1854.

Rev. R. H. Richardson:

Dear Sir—The undersigned listened with much pleasure to your very able discourse on the "Nebraska Territorial Bill," pronounced in the North Presbyterian Church, on Sabbath Morning, 5th inst.; and believing that a more extensive circulation would exert a beneficent influence, respectfully request a copy for the Press.

Very Respectfully,

Yours, &c.

EDWIN C. LARNED,
PAUL CORNELL,
S. R. HAVEN,
C. B. PHILLIPS,
C. HAVEN,
ISAAC N. ARNOLD,
T. W. WADSWORTH,
C. BECKWITH,
IRA SCOTT,
H. R. STEBBINGS,
C. S. MOORE.

Text.

"IS IT FIT TO SAY TO A KING, THOU ART WICKED? AND TO PRINCES, YE ARE UNGODLY?" — JOB XXXIV : 18.

DISCOURSE.

The argument of the text, with its application to the controversy in the course of which it was spoken, is based upon that reverence which is due from the subject to the Government under which he lives. It is a folly and a sin rashly to arraign the conduct of those who are authorised to make and administer our laws. They sit in high places, and in their decisions and doings are presumed to be governed by far-reaching views, and by a regard to many varied interests, unknown to those over whom they are placed. But more than this, they derive their authority from God. The powers that be are ordained of God. It matters not what the form of the authority may be,—legislative, judicial, or executive: it matters not under what form of government the authority may be exercised; regal or republican, despotic or constitutional: It matters not to what sphere of our relationship it may belong; the Family, the Church, or the State: It is a general truth that government is of divine ordination, and so it follows, that

the ruling Power in whatever department, and under whatever form of administration, is the representative of God. He is entitled, therefore, in a subordinate sense, to that submission and respect which are due to Him who is the supreme Judge, Law-giver and King. To despise dominion, and to indulge in harsh judgment and evil speaking of dignities, is virtual blasphemy against the God of Heaven.

As a people we are eminently characterized by this fault. We are accustomed to regard the popular voice as the source of official authority, and not as the mere agency through which it is conferred. We speak of our rulers as the servants of the people, and in a certain sense they are such. But they are still our rulers. The method of their appointment does not affect the nature of their authority.

It is, in good degree, because we forget this, that we are so prone to the abuse of that freedom of speech which we claim as our inalienable right. A right it is; but, too freely exercised, it becomes a grievous wrong; and we are, verily, guilty in this matter. We have too freely used, and so have shamefully abused our privilege. We have reached a point of license, in this regard, at which any ignorant and brawling denizen of the dram-shop feels himself at liberty to utter all his mind in reference to men and measures of public interest. From the bespatterings of his filth no office however high, no character however pure, no measure however just and benificial, is exempt. With his tongue will he prevail, his lips are his own; who is lord over him? It may be that there is no check for this growing evil, except the influence of a good example. It may be one of the necessary blossomings or fruits of our democracy

and must be borne with, for the sake of the other and better products of our political system. But it is a great and crying evil, and deserves the reprobation of all who have the public good at heart. We are suffering deeply from its effects, already, and destined to suffer yet more. It never was indulged and prevalent in any country or community, in which it did not work ultimate havoc and desolation. It tends inevitably to the unsettling of all Social Order. It is ruinous to the public morals. It invades the Family and the Church, and puts its foot upon parental authority andthe holy office of the ministry. It neither fears God nor regards man, and alike on human and divine authority pours out all its venom and tramples in its fury. It brings Infidelity and Atheism in its train, and so will overthrow every foundation of true Liberty, Religion and Virtue. It was one of the prime agencies in the atrocities of the French Revolution, and did as much as any other to bring that nation to its wretched condition, when it existed without a Government and without a God. It is not fit thus to say to a King, Thou art wicked, and to Princes, Ye are ungodly. It is not fit, thus hastily and harshly to speak evil of the Rulers of the people; toload them with reproach and consign them to infamy, at the instigation of personal or partizan prejudice, passion or caprice.

But there is an opposite extreme to this, which, if less immediate in its effects, is not, perhaps, less wrong, nor less injurious in its ultimate results. There is an evil silence as well as an evil speaking. It is the very acme of Despotism when the tongue must be closely tied, and man bow, speechlessly submissive, to all the counsellings and edicts of the Powers that be. The obedience to the constituted authorities which God has

imposed upon the subject, carries with it no such obligation as this. A Grecian Poet, five centuries before the Christian Era, has given us a definition which right Reason and the will of God confirm, when he says:

> "This is true Liberty, when free-born men,
> Having to advise the public, may speak free;
> Which he who can and will, deserves high praise;
> Who neither can nor will, may hold his peace:
> What can be juster in a State than this?"

There is a true and rightful freedom of speech, which is as far removed from the reckless license which we condemn, as it is opposed to that Tyranny which puts a seal upon the lips, and permits no disapproval nor discussion of the doings and devices of the Magistrate.—Rulers have no divine right to do wrong, and, trespassing the bounds of justice and integrity, they must expect to meet the warning, remonstrance and rebuke, which such trespass deserves. Our duty to them, to the State, and to God, then calls upon us to keep silence no longer, but to cry aloud and spare not; to lift up the voice like a trumpet and show them their transgression and their sin. The only limits to this liberty, to this duty, are those of truth, candor and courtesy. Within these, Discussion may range and exercise itself to its utmost.

And especially is this true under a system of government such as that with which God has blessed this nation. The Ruler of the people here is also the people's Representative. We choose men to make and administer laws, not merely in accordance with their wisdom but with the popular will. And therefore the will of the people must be made known, and all who have an influence must exert it, not only that the people may be heard, but that their voice shall be indeed the voice

of God. It is not only fit then, but an obligation, to say to our Rulers and Legislators, Ye are ungodly; or at least, to say to them, that they are guilty of ungodly purposes and deeds.

And there are several places and methods in which this should be said.

The Pulpit is under obligation to speak. It may be thought by some that the subject of present discourse is out of harmony with the sanctities of this holy time and this holy place. And it is not strange that it should so appear at first sight, when Religion and Politics have, in practice, so little fellowship with each other. The voice of Israel's God and Rock is so seldom heard amid the strifes of the political arena, that an apology is almost needed, for introducing Him upon the stage, as one of the parties interested in the conflict and its results. But alas! that it should be so: that the government of God should be so ignored among the governments of men; and religious Duty—recognised, it may be, in other departments of life—give place, in this, to the dictates of mere personal or partizan feeling. But do I indeed transgress the bounds of propriety in making the pending deliberations of our national legislature, the theme of consideration and remark? A moments reflection will convince you to the contrary. The christian pulpit is the teacher of religious duty. Its first and highest and all-controlling theme, is Christ and Him crucified, the power and the wisdom of God to man's eternal salvation. You will bear me witness that the claims of this theme are fully recognised in this pulpit. But we are commanded to shun not to declare the whole counsel of God, and the whole duty of man, whether it relate to the interests of eternity or of time;

if any such distinction can be made in regard to the interests of an immortal being, whose eternity is but the continuation of his time, and whose present experience all has a bearing upon his everlasting destinies.

The Gospel minister has nothing to do personally or officially in the actual conflicts of political parties, except in quietness to exercise the right and fulfil the duty of the citizen, from which he is no more exempt than any other man. He may not from the sacred desk discuss the claims of rival candidates nor specific questions of mere civil policy. He may not mingle with the excited crowd in the club-room or around the stump and the hustings. But whether in the pulpit or elsewhere, it is his province to proclaim the broad principles of Christian truth and duty, in reference to this, as to every other sphere of human interests. He is to receive the word at God's mouth and proclaim it to the people; and unless God has said nothing in reference to the reciprocal rights and duties of the Rulers and the ruled, he has no authority, whatever to be silent in regard to them. National Morality and Religion are more or less involved in almost all questions of national policy. In some of them the political interests of the question are as nothing in comparison with the moral. And it is in this latter aspect, that they force themselves upon the notice of those who are authorized by God himself and in his name, to reprove, rebuke, exhort with all authority and doctrine. They are the guardians of the public morality, more effectually and extensively such than any other institution of God or man. They are the authorized expounders of Divine purpose and command. Their influence, silent and unrecognized though it may be, is beyond all estimate in the pre-

servation of the public peace and the promotion of the public welfare. We owe the liberty, which as a nation we enjoy, as much to the Pulpit as to the Battle-field. Had God's ministers remained silent in the times of peril and trial; the ministers of the Puritan and Presbyterian pulpits; or had they spoken as the very loyal ministers of George III. were accustomed to speak in those days, we should probably have had no occasion to-day to discuss the measures of a Representative Government and Congress.

Neither in theory nor in fact can their influence be set aside, nor their duty annulled; their duty to speak fully and fearlessly, when the interests of the national integrity and virtue are at stake. The God of Israel said, the Rock of Israel spake: 'He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God.' It is their province to repeat this saying of divine inspiration, and to enforce its claims upon rulers and subjects.

And now that there is every prospect of the violent perverting of judgment and justice by those who represent and rule us, shall the Pulpit lift no voice of warning and rebuke? Would it not be faithless to its trust and a partaker in the sin, if it fail to speak against the contemplated iniquity? It spoke clearly, decidedly and effectively four years ago, when we were threatened so seriously with the horrors of sectional division; and no man can say how much was thus accomplished for the public order and peace. And now we stand upon the verge of another period of trial, far more momentous, I believe, in its ultimate bearings and results, than any period in our national history since 1820. And it is fit that the Pulpit should repeat in the ears of men, the counsels and admonitions of Him who is righteous in all his ways and holy in all his works. We may ac-

complish nothing in arresting the proposed iniquity, but we may throw into the public mind those principles and views which shall be necessary to its removal or correction. We may say again what God said long ago, "Wo unto them that decree unrighteous decrees," and the people to whom we speak, can convert this prophecy into history, as it has been so often converted before, in the condemnation and disgrace of those who are guilty of the great transgression. I pray God that in every such time of national peril as the present, he may give grace, wisdom and fidelity to all who speak in his name, that they may not be found wanting as the advocates of Justice and ambassadors of Truth.

The Press has its mission to fufil in this day of anxiety and suspense. It is the boast of our land that we have a Free Press; and it is a ground for gratulation and rejoicing. It is, at the same time, one of the best products of that liberty which our fathers have bequeathed to us, and one of the chief agencies in its continuance. Liberty and a licensed Press have never existed long together in any land He who would overthrow the freedom, and take away the rights of the people, can never accomplish his purpose without the power of controling this great engine of influence. A reading people will be a thinking people, and a thinking people will be an acting people, when occasinon comes for action. Tyranny fears to come to the light lest its deeds should be reproved, and wherever there is unlicencsed Printing there is light. The ecclesiastical and civil despotisms of the old world sit on thrones of Darkness. It is the ignorance of the masses that is the true foundation of their power. Give the people ability to read, and the facilities for information and discussion, which an unrestrict-

ed Press affords, and their thrones will melt away as darkness fades in the rays of the risen sun.

We can never be sufficiently grateful to God that in our favored land no authorized Censorship nor Index Expurgations restrains the publications of what men feel and think. We can no more estimate the beneficial effects of our Privilege in this regard, than we can measure the healthful influence of the ocean and the air upon human life and happiness. That it is a privilege sinfully and shamefully abused, no one acquainted with the issues of the Press in this country, can deny. And no true friend of Liberty and Order, of Justice, Truth and Love, can fail to bemoan the frequent and grievous wounds inflicted upon all these by this agency. Unlicensed by Government authority, it is too often unscrupulous, and indulges in a license of expression which is as disgraceful to its conductors as it is injurious to the public morality. In its discussions of men and measures it oftentimes transcends all limits of honor and courtesy. In its zeal for Sect and Party, it can see nothing but evil in whatever it opposes. It impugns motives and misrepresents language, and blackens character, and falsifies history. It mocks at religion; and scoffs at virtue, and ridicules integrity and honesty of act and purpose. It transforms Satan into an angel of light; makes devils of good men and deified heroes of bad ones. It is corrupt and corrupting, unclean and abominable, utterly at war with all private purity and all public peace and safety. And a Christian man will turn from the very touch of such a sheet, to wash his hands, as though they had been dipped in the filth and off-scouring of all things.

But in spite of all this, too often true and always to be deplored and condemned, a Free Press is the bul-

work of a nation's Honor, Peace and Liberty. It has the right, and on it rests the obligation, to bring to the ordeal of fair discussion all questions of public concern, by whomsover agitated or advocated. Let it speak, then, fearlessly, faithfully, clearly, unceasingly, in the present exigency. Let it ply the public mind and heart and conscience, with fact, argument and appeal. Let it scorn all the bribes with which Patronage and Power would purchase its silence or its speech. Let it lay bare the the origin and objects of that stupenduous fraud now contemplated in the councils of the nation. Let it show the people its true character and its bearings upon their own best interests, public and private. Let it arouse them to speech and action,—not in blind fanaticism and fury, but in earnest and inflexible resolve,—against the consummation or for the correction, of the intended evil.

This is the privilege and duty not only of the secular Press but of the religious as well. It eminently and evidently belongs to the columns devoted to the advocacy of truth, justice and piety. No advertisement nor determination to be silent or neutral in regard to Politics, can be a sufficient apology for saying nothing on a question of such character as this. It is a moral question far more than a political, and in its moral character comes as distinctly within the province of a religious Press as any other moral subject. If the act proposed is right, let its rightfulness be shown. If wrong, then it is fit that the advocates of religion and rectitude should say to the King, 'Thou art wicked, and to Princes, Ye are ungodly.' Let them say of any public measure involving a breach of moral consistency, It is iniquity, and show wherein its iniquity consists.

And thus by all the issues of the Press, secular and sacred, let the truth be published and sent abroad to advocate its claims at the fireside and in the family circle, in the counting-room and the work-shop, in the city and country; every where and by all classes; and then let the result be seen, whether the nation, as such, will sanction the purpose of those who rule and represent them in the national Capitol.

The People have a duty to discharge in giving utterance to the public sentiment upon this question. The elemental feature of our system of government, is its representative character. It is the very essence of Republicanism, that it recognizes and respects the wishes and opinions of the People. When it ceases to do this, it becomes Despotism. The men, therefore, who sit in the high places of counsel and authority, sustain a two-fold relation to those over whom they are placed. They are over us and they are of us. In the harmonious combination and acknowledgment of these two ideas, consists a true and righteous Government.

I am no believer in what is called the "Right of Instruction," by which electors claim the authoritative direction of the voice and action of those whom they elect. It conflicts with the free exercise of judgment and conscience, and is based upon a very restricted view of a Representative's relations. Nor do I believe that it is always a duty to resign an office which the people have conferred when obedience to the wishes of a constituency cannot be conscientiously rendered. Our Congress is a National Congress, and legislates not for Districts nor for States as such, but as Parts of one great Confederacy. They must be governed therefore by large and liberal views, by a regard for the general good; and by local interests

and opinions only so far as they are consistent with the general good. You can never make men statesmen, while you keep them in servitude to the will of others and such a view of their relation to the people is hostile both to individual dignity and independence, and to that confidence which should be reposed in our elected law-makers.

But in this there is no denial of the right and duty of the people, to give expression to their will and judgment; but, rather, argument for its faithful exercise. Let them interrogate their candidates in advance, if they please, and choose those whose will and judgment correspond with their own, upon all questions which are likely to come before them.

And when—as in the instance which gives occasion for the present discourse—unexpected issues are made, let them assert their prerogative in the full and honest utterance of their sentiments in reference thereto. Let them come together, not in packed and hireling convention, but in Republican assembly, and there holds unfettered counsel one with another, and resolve accordingly. And then let the voice of the multitude, as the voice of one man, go up to the executive mansion and the halls of legislation, and tell the responses of the popular mind and heart to the questions which are there in agitation. This much they may do, and not until they have done this, have they claimed their privilege and acquitted themselves of their obligations, as the citizens of a free Commonwealth.

The Right of Petition has found at last, a settled place among the acknowledged prerogatives of the people. It had a long and an arduous struggle to obtain a recognition; and wise, patriotic, and venerable

men, toiled and fought and suffered many years in its behalf. But it conquered in the end, and will, probably, retain its place, secure and undisputed, so long as the present institutions of our Government remain unchanged. And this is the right which the people, in the present emergency are called upon to exercise. Let them therefore give themselves with all earnestness and diligence to the work. Let them pile the tables of the Senate Chamber and the Representatives' Hall, with petitions, protests, remonstrances, until they shall groan under the weight of popular will and opinion. Let them speak forth their sense of the wickedness, the ungodliness, of the proposed measure. The councilmen of the nation may deceive themselves as to the popular sentiment. They may think the people indifferent; or if indignant, that they can easily sooth them by soft appeals and specious argument. Let them, therefore, know that such is not the fact; that we are neither unconcerned, nor to be cajoled into the sanction of a measure which judgment and conscience so loudly condemn. Let them know that this is not regarded as a mere question of political expediency, but as involving the public faith, the public peace. the public morality, order and stability.

And especially does this duty devolve upon you, my hearers, citizens of that State whose suffrages have sent both to the upper and lower Houses of Congress, the man to introduce this cursed and iniquitous Bill. Your Legislature too, has endorsed and approved it. It becomes you then to express your indignant and entire dissent from the fathers and the sponsors of this child of sin and shame.

You may make no permanent impression by such

remonstrance and appeal. The passage of this Bill may be, as I fear it is, a foregone conclusion. Personal and political considerations may outweigh all sense of honor and integrity in the halls of Congress. But you will have asserted your rights, and done your duty; and will have paved the way for a far more potent expression of your will and judgment, which will come at its appointed time

Of this final department of the people's duty, I say nothing further, for the present; reserving it for another place in this discourse. Having shown thus far, the privilege and obligation of a free expression of the popular will, by all the channels through which such expression can be given, I come now to discuss, with all brevity, the question itself, with reference to which the foregoing remarks have been made. I need scarcely state in formal terms, after what has been said, my own estimate of the Bill which now absorbs the attention of Congress and the Nation. If such statement be desired, I give it in unequivocal language; that it seems to me a measure wrong in every aspect in which it can be viewed, a measure fraught not only with political evil, but dishonorable, unjust, wicked, ungodly; contrary to the law of God and to every unbiased moral judgment of man.

There are more reasons to be given for this opinion than either my time or my sense of propriety would permit me now to urge. I select but a few of the many which seem best suited to the necessities of the occasion, time and place, of this discourse.

Let me briefly say, by way of preface, however, that it comes not within the scope of my obligation or design, to discuss the right or the wrong of Southern Slavery.

The question may be argued from this point of relationship, and has been so argued, both by those who approve and those who condemn the Institution. It does not however necessarily involve this discussion. Men may regard Slavery as altogether right, and yet regard the measure now under consideration as altogether wrong. They may regard Slavery as altogether wrong, and yet approve the passage of this bill upon the ground of obligations which they consider indispensable. This is evident enough from the diversity of opinion which prevails in both sections of the country. The moral and religious sentiment of the South is against the measure, while the political sentiment of a large part of the North, professes to be in favor of it. It is not therefore strictly and necessarily a sectional question. It does not command unity of judgment on either side of the line which divides the slave States from the free. Texas, Tennessee and Delaware, the two extremes and the middle State of the former class, have pronounced against it through their Senators.* While New Hampshire, Pennsylvania and Iowa, have in the same way expressed a different judgment. Within the same State diversity of judgment exists, and the ancient Scripture prophecy finds literal fulfillment; the father against the son, and the brother against the brother. I repeat it therefore that the discussion does not necessarily involve the question of slavery in either its political or moral bearings, and it does not therefore come within my present province to say aught upon this exciting subject. My own opinions in regard to it are generally known to you, and if

*The above paragraph was penned when I thought it not credible, not possible, that the Senator from Delaware could be found wanting in this time of his trial. Let the sentence remain as at once, an expression of faith and hope, and the memorial of a bitter disappointment.

not, they are, elsewhere, at the service of any one who may deem them of sufficient importance, or may have sufficient curiosity, to enquire concerning them.

This much therefore clearly premised, and urged upon your rememberance I proceed to give some of the reasons which seem to me to make it fit to say of the Territorial Bill, now under discussion in our National Congress, that it is a wicked and ungodly and pernicious measure. I allude mainly, of course, to that clause of the Bill which declares the act of 1820 null and void, in virtue of the acts of 1850, and therefore abolishes the line of 36° 30′ hitherto recognized as dividing the territory in which slavery is prohibited or permitted.

I. *It is a measure entirely uncalled for and unnecessary.* It has been argued, ably and truly, that the erection at present of full territorial governments as proposed by this Bill, is far in advance of the necessities of the country. What is this Nebraska region that it should require all the formal institutions of a government; governor, legislature, marshals, judges, delegates and all the other officers requisite to the administration of the affairs of state? It is a vast country stretching from the extreme border of Missouri onward to the Rocky Mountains. It is a lovely land, with its flowery plains and flowing streams; decked with every natural beauty and every natural advantage, to make it the home of countless population and a perfect civilization. It will, at some future and not very distant day, receive the rolling tide of emigration upon its bosom, which already begins to cast its spray over it; and "Kanzas and Nebraska now unknown, will become States as familiar to the people, as Virginia, Ohio and Kentucky are to their own children." The Senator from Massachusetts in his ele-

gant but truthful rhetoric has said, "Nebraska and Kanzas occupy that position with respect to the future of this country, that Persia and India once did to Asia. Their waters, which at their fountains trickle through ice, roll on and outward till they reach the highway of the world. Breaking through the Rocky Mountains by means of the iron road, through them will flow the commerce of the East, to the waters of the Pacific. Cities of vast magnitude will arise on the banks of their noble rivers. Agriculture will reclaim the immense plains now roamed by the savage and the buffalo. And may it not be hoped that under the aid of the Constitution, of a free Government, Religion and all the arts of civilized life will be found there, adding grace and beauty to the gifts of Nature and the bounties of Providence."

But all this is but in hope and prospect yet. At present this vast country is but a wilderness, blossoming like the rose indeed, but like the wild rose; almost throughout its whole area—larger than twelve times the extent of this State of our adoption—the solitude and stillness of the Forest and the Prairie hold undisputed sway. Its population consists of three classes: wild beasts, wild Indians, and wild white men. With all the chimerical schemes of our 'manifest destiny,' it has never yet been proposed to establish civilized government over the two former classes. And as to the last it is scarcely more expedient or necessary. A trumpet sounded for a twelvemonth throughout all this mighty wilderness, would scarcely suffice to call from valley, plain and mountain, white men enough to fill this house in which we are gathered to-day. And the few who are there dwell thousands of miles apart, beyond the reach of all authority and law; here a solitary hunter

in his hut, and there, hundreds of leagues away, another in the hollow trunk of a sycamore or an oak.

Where then, I ask again, is the necessity for all the formal institutions of an organized Government, for such a population as this? It seems to me that it were hard to tell, and that the reason for the proposition must be sought in the desire to create new offices for the patronage of the National Executive and the reward of partizan services.

But admitting that such a necessity does exist; that this sparse and wild population ask and are entitled to an organized Government; where was the necessity for grafting upon the bill which proposes to erect such a Government, that odious clause which has given rise to the present agitation? Why say anything in regard to to the subject to which it refers? Has any new emergency arisen to make it necessary to change the settled policy of the Government in regard to its Territories? Has anything occurred since the last session of Congress, when the Senator from Illinois introduced a bill for the same object, but recognizing that policy as settled, and hinting at no cha. ge? In all the discussions of this subject, I have seen no reason given for this, and I must believe that none can be found, except in the personal motives and aims of political leaders, and especially of him who now brings forward this unexpected proposition. Has the honorable Senator seen new light? Or has his conscience smitten him for former disregard of the rights of 'Squatter Sovereignty' and Constitutional Law?

I know how wrong and dangerous it generally is, to impute unacknowledged motives to men, either in their public or private acts. But I do not wonder that in

such a state of things, such imputations have been made. Men cannot fail to ask the reasons for the proposal of such a measure; and if they find none whatever in the necessities of the case itself, they will find them in the hopes and aims of the mover and abettor of this scheme. And if they are right in their surmises, what a melancholy picture of a statesman is presented to our view! And be the suspicion right or wrong, is it not a wicked and ungodly thing, in act if not in motive, thus needlessly to throw such a brand of discord into the bosom of the national quiet?

II. The crowning evil of this scheme, and that which stamps it with the character of an iniquity, *is its proposed violation of established national compacts.* There are two branches of this subject, entirely distinct.

The first relates to treaties made with the aborigines who now inhabit this wild and savage country. They were removed by government authority from their homes and hunting grounds east of the Mississippi. It was guaranteed to them that there, at last, they should have a permanent and undisputed settlement. It was upon this condition they consented unwillingly to leave their forest glades and the graves of their departed chiefs. They were removed, and there, far off in the wilderness, they are living the life which they love so well. And good men of our own Church are there among them, endeavoring to reclaim them from barbarism, and teach them, not only civilization, but the blessed doctrines of God and Immortality. And they have been, in good degree, successful. Children and adults are gathered into schools, and the Red Chiefs leave their chase and warfare to listen to the true tidings of the Great Spirit, and of the Prince of peace.

It is an evil feature of the Bill under discussion, that it either ignores or fails to make just provision for the stipulated and established rights of the poor Indian. It is not to be supposed indeed, that this territory shall always remain in the sole possession of these scattered tribes. The necessities of population and commerce will soon claim a foothold in their domain, and a passage through it. But if this must be done, let some adequate provision be made for their compensation, protection and relief. It has been fully shown by the Senator from Texas and others, that such provision the bill fails to make, and that even were there no other objection to its passage, this were sufficient to defeat it.

The American nation has already a large and fearful enough account to give to God and Posterity for the treatment received by those who once were lords of all her soil. The fruits of our injustice, robbery and oppression, have not yet ripened under the Providence of God, and it becomes us now to give good heed that we hasten not their growth and add not to their bitterness. The fate of Spain, now suffering, as I verily believe, the righteous judgment of God, for its atrocious and inhuman policy toward the Indians on this Continent, should be a lasting warning to this nation, and a lasting memorial to all nations, that there is a God who ruleth in the kingdoms of men, and who regards and rewards accordingly, the oppression of the poor and the violent perverting of judgment in a province.

I consider then the disregard of Indian rights as guaranteed by the national faith, which characterizes this Bill, as fatal to rightfulness, and a sufficient cause for its rejection.

But even this is subordinate to the second violation

of the national honor which this bill proposes. With the Congressional proceedings of 1820 we are all acquainted. Some of you are old enough to remember what a tempest of excitement rocked this country to its remotest borders, during that memorable period. The discords and agitations of that time were appeased by a treaty or agreement, as solemn, venerable and binding as ever marked the history of any people. No treaty ever made with England, France, or any other Kingdom of the world, was better understood or confirmed with more sacred pledges and sanctions of the public faith. Missouri was admitted as a Slave State into the Union, and as the price of this concession on the part of the North, it was resolved and decreed that in all the remaining territory of the United States, north of the line 36° 30′, slavery and involuntary servitude, except for crime, should be thenceforward and forever prohibited. This was the well-known Compromise of 1820, but for which, as far as human eye can see, there must have been a violent rupture of the ties of our Confederacy, and, in all probability, fraternal war and bloodshed, the issues of which could not be foretold.

The Bill now before Congress declares this act of 1820 null and void; removes all restriction upon the extension of slavery, and gives to Southern Institutions the right to establish themselves, in full sway, upon the soil of the New Territories. It is conceded, that this measure, upon the face of it, bears the look of a direct violation of a national agreement. Indeed, it is such, as plainly as language can assert it. It sets aside the legislation of 1820 and establishes a new law in its stead.

It is denied indeed by some, that the former act was

of the nature of a Compromise. But can this denial be of any avail in the face of all fact, and of thirty-four years of general, unanimous understanding and belief of the people? Are we to be told that there was no such agreement as constitutes a compromise between the parties at variance, when the measure was introduced expressly and avowedly as such; was urged and advocated both by Northern and Southern men as such; was rejoiced over by all true friends of the Union as such; was scouted and condemned by mischief-makers and disunionists as such; was recognized as such in all the subsequent legislation of the Government; was conceded as such by both North and South in every speech since made, in Congress or elsewhere, in which the subject was alluded to; was declared to be such once and again by formal enactment and announcement, and was acquiesced in as such, by all the people of the country from the centre to its remotest bounds! Surely this plea will not avail; and even the Chairman of the Committee on Territories with all his recklessness and hardihood, must find some better mask behind which to hide the falsehood and and injustice which mark the features of this Bill.

And so we read in the proposed act of organization, that the legislation of 1820 is already set aside by that of 1850. And on this ground it is urged that every bar to the admission of slavery into the new territory is already removed. I could have honored him a little had he been frank and honest enough, with the Senator from Kentucky, to move a direct repeal of the clause of 1820 which prohibited slavery in all the remaining territory of Louisiana. But the trick of hiding his transgression behind the legislation of a former Con-

gress was too low, too pitiful, to have originated in the heart or head of any man not lost to all sense of honor, truth and justice.

But how shallow a plea, how flimsy a mask is this! If it were not impossible to marvel much at the shifts and devices of those who make politics a trade, in which is bartered all integrity and virtue and good faith, to win the objects of their personal ambition, we might marvel greatly at this resort of our Honorable Senator. You know the history of the struggle in Congress in 1850. It was next in violence to that of 1820, and its causes were snbstantially the same. Did any of us dream that the compromise of that year superseded the compact and the legislative action of thirty years before? Not one. And I verily believe that were the same question asked of every man throughout this Union, who has knowledge of the transactions of that year, not one single affirmative response would be given. Did the honored Senators from Massachusetts and Kentucky, whose loss we must now more than ever deplore, through whose influence the measures of 1850 were adopted; did they imagine that they were toiling, speaking, voting for the virtual repeal of the Missouri Compromise? The Senator from Pennsylvania tells us that when he asked of Mr. Clay whether anything in the action of 1850 could be construed into a disturbance of the Missouri Compromise, that he emphatically replied, "No, my dear friend, it affirms it." And we know that Mr. Webster had no thought, and disclaimed all intention of any such disturbance, in his advocacy of the settlement proposed by the Committee of Thirteen. Did the most unflinching friend of slavery in the Senate or the House of Reprsentatives at that time, imagine such

a thing? The advocates of this measure have been challenged to produce some evidence of what they assert from the Congressional speeches of that Congress? Have they answered this challenge? Not at all. Not the faintest hint or whisper of such a thing was ever once breathed in the Capitol or out of it.

Is it credible, is it possible, that such a change could have been accomplished or contemplated, and yet not one breathing of the act or design be found in all the volumes of argument and entreaty, which were said and written at the time? No, my hearers, there was no thought of such a thing. So far from it, that on the very last day of the last session of Congress, the the Senator from Missouri, the most uncompromising friend of Southern Institutions now living, who would legislate slavery, if it were in his power, not only into all the territories of the Government, but into all the States and Kingdoms of this country and the world, declared in his place in the Senate, when about to vote on this very question as then presented to that Honorable Body, that it was folly to expect or hope that the Missouri Compromise could ever be repealed while our Government exists. Like concessions in form and fact have been made in all the sayings and doings of our National Legislature since 1850. And yet we are now gravely told that the act of 1820 was repealed, made inoperative and of no effect, by those of 1850. Why, if we are to measure the intellectual strength and stature of the Giants of these days by such exhibitions as this, the fable of Jack the Giant Killer might find realization in the prowess of any child of ten years who sits before me, who has read the dictionary and the sixth and ninth Commandments.

It is argued again that the measure now proposed is but a recognition and assertion of that fundamental feature of our Government, which gives to the people the sole right to establish institutions in the States and Territories where they reside; and therefore Congress can do no otherwise than acknowledge their rights. To this it is enough to reply, that the argument is one which is advocated only, or mainly, by Northern Senators, who feel it necessary to find some specious plea to answer the questionings, and soothe the angry passions of an outraged constituency. Those who are personally interested in having the Territories opened to the admission of slavery, are too just and honorable to plead their cause on such a ground as this. They deny that any such right belongs to the people of a Territory, and assert that, under the Laws and Constitution of the General Government, they are authorized to go into the Territories with any species of property which they may possess; and that no Territorial Legislature, Governor nor people, have any right to exclude them. The argument then, even if it were sound,—which I do not think it is,—is not one which can be urged with any force or consistency in the present discussion.

One other argument really exhausts the treasure house and armory of the advocates of this Bill. And that is, that the act of 1820 was unconstitutional, and that Congress having no right to prohibit slavery as was then done, their legislation was a nullity from the begining, and the present Bill is but the assertion of this fact. You will not expect me here and now, to argue either for or against this assertion. I say, however, that under the law authorizing Congress to make all necessary laws and regulations, as in their wisdom may seem

fit, for the Territorial possessions of the Government, I think, with Webster and others well versed in Constitutional law and Congressional privilege, that such a power does belong to Congress, and that they trespassed no boundary of justice, equity or statute, in the legislation of 1820.

But, my hearers, it matters little, in my judgment, whether such a power was theirs or not. I look upon the Missouri Compromise, if not as virtually a part of the Constitution, at least, as binding as any clause of that sacred instrument. It was a fair and honorable agreement, and even if it were at the time of its enactment illegal and unconstitutional, this would not prove it invalid now. Things illegal in the act are not always invalid in the obligation. Many a contract and agreement for which there is no legal sanction, is yet considered obligatory by men of honor and integrity. There is not a man among you, in any business or profession, who does not acknowledge this principle in his daily dealings with his fellows. And though I believed that slavery were the most divine and beneficent of all the institutions of man, I should think not differently concerning the obligations of the Missouri compact. It was a treaty, an agreement between North and South, made after mutual concessions and for mutual advantage. It is not affected by the number of Northern or of Southern votes which it secured, as some have argued. It was a national agreement. The People sanctioned it, acquiesced in it, acknowledged it, acted upon it and believed in it until this blessed year of grace 1854. It was a covenant the same in nature and in obligation as that of which we read in ancient and Sacred Chronicle: 'And Abram went up out of Egypt, he and his wife

and all that he had, and Lot with him into the South. And Abram was very rich in cattle, in silver and in gold. And Lot also, which went with Abram, had flocks and herds and tents. And the land was not able to bear them that they might dwell together, for their substance was great, so that they could not dwell together. And there was a strife between the herdmen of Abram's cattle and the herdmen of Lot's cattle, and the Canaanite and the Perizzite—the Indians of Palestine—dwelled then in the land. And Abram said unto Lot, Let there be no strife, I pray the, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen, for we are brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee from me. If thou wilt take the left hand then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left. And Lot lifted up his eyes and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered every where, before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, as thou comest unto Zoar. Then Lot chose him all the plain of Jordan; and Lot journeyed East, and they separated themselves the one from the other. Abram dwelled in the land of Canaan, and Lot dwelled in the cities of the plain and pitched his tent toward Sodom.'

This was the Abramic Compromise, and had either of the parties attempted to evade its obligations, or to invade the territory of his kinsman, the one would never have been called the Father of the Faithful and the Friend of God; and to the dwelling of the other no angels would have come at eventide, to save him from the impending judgment of the cities of the plain. The act of 1820 was such a covenant as this, irrespective of the

Constitution and the law, in the opinion of honorable men, and therefore as binding as though no whisper of its illegality or unconstitutionality had ever been heard.

I have thus glanced briefly at the various points and arguments embraced under this head of the subject. And after this review, and after many a weary day and night of thought and reading in reference to it, I find it neither in my judgment nor my conscience, to say but one thing of the proposed abolition of the Missouri Covenant, and that is: that if consummated, it would be a most flagrant breach of honor, truth, good faith and justice, worthy of a Nero or a Napoleon III., but unworthy of any man in whom there dwells the least reverence for human right or divine precept.

It is in this regard especially that it comes within the Sacred and appropriate province of Pulpit discussion; as a moral question, involving not merely Expediency but Right; not merely Inexpediency but Sin, in the sight of God and of all good men. It is in this regard that it is fit to say to our Rulers and Legislators who advance and advocate this measure, ye do a wicked and ungodly thing; one which will not merely call down upon your heads the execrations of an indignant People, but the curse of an angry Judge, who from his high throne in Heaven looks down and watches all the affairs of men. It is in this regard that I feel called upon to repeat the saying of the wisest King or Governor who ever reigned or ruled on earth,—a saying alas! too little remembered amid the contests of political zeal and personal and unholy ambition,—'If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent perverting of judgment and justice in a province, marvel not at the matter, for

'He that is higher than the highest regardeth, and there be higher than they.' And it is in this regard that the question comes before us all, as honorable and just men, if not as Christians; and we are called upon to speak and act in reference thereto, as those who shall give account to God. Our system of national representation gives the character of a national sin, to every violation of equity and truth by our chosen Representatives. We can only clear our skirts of the guilt, though we may not free ourselves from the punishment, by an open disavowal of the act, and by faithful and unceasing endeavors to repair the wrong.

But I have not yet done with the evil features of this measure:

III. I say again that it is a wicked and ungodly measure, *because it is a wanton disiurbance of the national peace and tranquiliy.*

What, my friends, was the condition of the country when the present Congress met, three months ago? Scarcely a ripple broke the surface of the stream of our national prosperity. Unity and concord dwelt in all our borders. The recent storms of agitation had all subsided, and scarcely a swelling of the popular sea reminded us of the past tempest and whirlwind. The strifes of 1850 were all hushed, and the legislation of that year, hostile as it was, in some of its features, to the sentiment of a large portion of the people, had ceased to give disturbance; and a general acquiescence and submission, if not approval, removed all ground of further fear. Men looked forward to the annual Assembling in Washington with the hope and expectation that schemes of vast importance and benefit for this country and the world, would be projected and ma-

tured in the halls of Congress, and furthered by the National Executive. A highway must be opened for the nations from the blue Atlantic to the golden gates of the Pacific. The impending struggles in the old world called for watchfulness and wisest statesmanship, that the national good and influence might be enhanced and promoted. The commerce of distant countries was to be opened to our adventurous navigators and enterprising merchantmen. The liquidation of the public debt, and the adjustment of the national revenues; the interests of agriculture, of industry and art in general, the public welfare in its various departments, all demanded consideration and judicious legislation. Now, alas, what do we behold? A total disregard of all these measures of public concern; a neglect even of the most indispensible and ordinary business of our Congress, the wheels of government almost stopped, that Senators and Representatives may plot and war and wrangle for the violation of the national honor; private and public claims at home and abroad, cast contemptuously aside, or thrown into the gulf of oblivion which yawns beneath the table and Committee. And worse far than this, the fires of sectional discord are kindled again, and its devouring flame sweeps wildly through our prosperous and happy country. Again the Demons of strife and disunion stalk abroad across the land, and leave behind them every where hatred, variance, wrath, seditions, discord. Again are we suffering from an alienation of all fraternal sympathy, and threatened with a rupture of all fraternal fellowship, if not with the destruction of our Republican Association.

Such mischievous and melancholy results has this bill of our Honorable Senator produced. We asked

our Congressmen "for bread and they have given us a stone; for fish and they have given us a scorpion," nay, a brood of fiery flying serpents, to bite and kill and poison all our peace. And this as I have shown, without a shadow of a just pretence. All harmony and order and quiet and stability, all honor, truth and equity; all immolated on the altar of political and partizan aggrandizement!

It may be necessary sometimes to disturb the public peace to promote the public weal. But no such plea is found for the present disturbance; and I ask therefore again, is it not a wicked and ungodly thing, thus wantonly to blight the Nation's Hope, destroy the Nation's Peace, and raise a barrier high as heaven in the pathway of the Nation's prosperity? And if so, is it not deserving of universal reprobation and rebuke; calling upon all men everywhere, as men, as citizens, as patriots, as Christians, to think, to speak, to pray, to act, as the occasion demands; and so to come up to the help of Right and Peace and Honor so grievously assaulted; yea, even to the help of the Lord against the mighty.

IV. I urge against this measure, and in testimony of the character which I have ascribed to it, that *it is a measure fitted to destroy all confidence in the officers, laws and institutions of the Government.* What confidence can we repose in anything, when the most sacred acts and compacts of our legislation and our National faith, are so recklessly and wickedly violated? The very bulwark of our liberties, the Federal Constitution, framed with such consummate wisdom; so harmonious in its proportions; so equitable in its provisions and so benign in its results; consecrated in our affections and esteem, by its origin and purpose, and enshrined amid

the happy memories of six and sixty years; this Constitution, the wisest, noblest, freest and most righteous instrument that ever wrought a Nation's welfare, and controlled a Nation's destinies, can no longer be considered as a safeguard against injustice and wrong; no longer safe from the ruthless hand of faction and ambition. It is bad enough that we can have no settled policy in reference to the fiscal institutions and affairs of Government; in the principles and practices of its administration; that the Congress of this year is undoing the legislation of the last, and the Executive of one term overturning the men and measures of the preceding. But the National vitality is strong enough to outlive all this, and still to keep a healthful, vigorous and growing life in all the members and departments of our Confederacy. But when the foundations are destroyed, what then can we do? When so solemn an obligation as that of 1820 is disregarded, so solemn a covenant broken, as was entered into at that time, I know not what safety or security we can have, against any conceivable change, any possible encroachment of person, section or party. Such will be the impression made upon the public mind, if the Bill proposed should meet the sanction of the Representatives and President of the Republic. And it needs no very wise man nor inspired Prophet to tell the disasters which will be entailed upon the country in every department of its interests. It will throw such a cloud over the Nation's, prosperity that every thing good will languish under its chilling and baleful shadow. It will overthrow the National credit, and paralyze the National industry and check the National progress, and uproot the very pillars of the National stability. We know not then indeed what a day may

bring forth. We know not what high-handed outrage upon popular peace and liberty may be perpetrated before the morrow pass; and so, in place of hope we shall have fear; of security, we shall have dread; of confidence, distrust; and every where alarm and apprehension and despondency. Can a Nation flourish with such a blight upon its energies and fondly-cherished expectations? It is manifestly impossible. And so we have another reason for condemning and resisting this projected overturning of established principle and policy; and it is language scarcely strong enough to say of such an act, that it is wicked and ungodly, fraught, as it is, with such great and wide-spread evil to the National confidence and safety.

V. Once more I urge and argue against this bill that *it is in an eminent degree, destructive of the public morality.* In every sphere of our relationship, civil, social and personal, it is easy enough to foresee the disaster which, in this respect, must result from the consummation of such an iniquity. It is fitted to eradicate the love of country and of free institutions; to produce, as it has already done, in part, dissension, treason and rebellion; to discourage all endeavor and desire to extend the blessings which we now enjoy, to nations under the yoke of oppression and tyrany.

And even worse than this is the influence of its example upon the relations of society at large. It is vain to think of really imposing upon the people by any of the sophistries of constitutional or political necessity or expediency. They may be brought to acquiesce in the measure proposed, to sanction it even by their silence or their voice; but, be assured, they will not be deceived; no, not even the foremost friends and advocates which it

can find in Congress or out of it. Vote as they may, be silent and submissive as they may; they still will hold it in their hearts and judgments as an act of covenant-breaking. And so the poison will work its way from the head down to all the members and through every duct and artery of the social system, until the seeds of moral death shall be implanted in every part, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot.

If the chosen Rulers and Representatives of the people, the head and fountain of authority and law, prove so regardless of the Nation's pledged and plighted faith, so recreant to the principles of honesty and truth; what shall be expected in reference to the pledges, promises and engagements of private and social life? Will not men find ample cloak and apology for the violation of all truth and acknowledged obligation, in the National violation of similar bonds? And so this apple of discord becomes, through the alchemy of a corrupt human nation, an egg, from which shall issue a countless brood of traitors, liars, covenant-breakers. No word, nor oath, nor instrument of writing will be considered binding, when aggrandizement and gain of any kind can be secured by its violation. The streams of social life and relationship are corrupted at their fountain; the whole head is sick and the whole heart faint. The way is opened for the prevalence of vice and crime of highest degree; for universal dishonesty and moral desolation, and then if the scorn of men and the curse of God do not fall upon a wicked and ungodly Nation, it will be because there is no justice left in Earth or Heaven.

I regard this as one of the worst and most deplorable consequences to follow in the train of this iniquitous

measure, should it find the seal of Congressional enactment, of Executive approval and popular acquiescence. And for this reason, no less than for those already given, it should meet the indignant disavowal and rebuke of all good and true men, all lovers of their country, of justice and of God.

I have stated now with all becoming brevity and candor, some of the principal considerations which impel me to the earnest condemnation of the act contemplated in our National Capitol. I know not what reception they may meet with from the various judgments and parties which are represented in my audience. I give them as the honest convictions of my own mind and heart, and in so doing have listened and responded to the urgent monitions of my conscience as a man and as a Preacher of truth and righteousness. I prefer that they should meet with your agreement and approval. But if their fate be different, I have but done my duty, and God help me, while I know not that I can do more, I know that I could not have done less.

There remains but little further for me now to say. In speaking of the duty of the people in the present peril of our national honor and safety, I hinted that there was yet a more potent method of discharging public duty and giving utterance to public pleasure and opinion, than those already recommended. I have a few words now to say upon this point:

I suppose that the bill now discussed as a proposition in the Halls of Congress will come out thence an enactment. We learn to-day that it has been passed, by a large majority, in the Senate, where it should have found none so poor as to do it reverence. They passed it in the night, fitting time for such a deed of darkness, and

then just before the morning dawn, when Iniquity and Dishonor are accustomed to seek their hiding places, these destroyers of the National faith and peace sought theirs.

It will probably either command a majority in the House of Representatives after discussion, or be pressed through, by a previous suppression of all speech and consideration. The President has been, all along, one of its chief advocates and is pledged to its approval. And I should not be surprised to hear to-morrow, or any day, that it has become a law.

What then is to be done? But one course remains, and that course is, not to fan the flame of discord which it will kindle; nor to indulge in threats of disunion, nor to countenance any scheme of faction or fanaticism tending to the further disturbance of the public peace. Our duty to God and to each other and to the land in which we live, forbids the choice of any such course as these, which would but aggravate the evil which we deplore.

I show unto you a more excellent way. We have a method of remedy provided for us in our Republican Institutions, suited and sufficient to the exigencies of this case. It is the quiet, peaceful, faithful, fearless exercise of the privilege of the Ballot-box. Fortunately for us the men we send to Washington come back again to render an account of their stewardship to the people. And we can tell them, not from the pulpit, nor from the Press, nor from the public convention alone, whether they have been good and faithful servants, and whether they may any longer be stewards. Let us meet them and their measures at the place where Freemen love to congregate, and where they pronounce their most

emphatic judgment upon the Past, and their most emphatic pleasure for the future. To the Polls then let us hie to do our duty, as citizens, and to the God of righteousness, as men of faith and piety. If this Bill becomes a law in Congress, it need not be like the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not. If the men of 1854 can repeal the act of 1820, the men of 1856 can repeal the act of 1854. Let us lift the standard of Repeal, bearing on it no motto of dishonor, nor emblem of a broken covenant; but 'Honor, Equity and Truth,' God's holy Revelation and man's highest happiness and glory.

Should I follow the orthodox and ancient method of the Pulpit, I might now draw inference after inference and heap appeal upon appeal, until the setting Sun, should find me with my task but half accomplished. Permit me to relieve your patience, and leave you wholly upon the stand-point appropriate to the hour and the place, by the assertion of a single truth, cardinal to all our well being as individuals, and as a Nation.

It was the closing language of that Declaration which was the charter and the claim of our Liberties and Rights, that, for its support, its signers pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor; but all in a firm reliance upon Divine Providence, without whose aid they felt that all their resolves and struggles would have been in vain.

The reliance of our Fathers in that solemn act of self-emancipation is our reliance still. Our trust, our hope, is not in man, but in the God who made the Heavens and the Earth. It was He who prompted the Declaration of that day; who gave union, courage and

fidelity to those who planted the Republic amid so much to discourage and deter them. It wasHe who went before our armies, and fought our battles for us, and won for us our victories. It was He who healed all the diseases of our National infancy, and preserved us amid the dangers of our youth. It is he who has crowned us with so many and inestimable blessings.

And now to Him we look as the only Hope for time to come; to guide, to counsel, prosper and pres rve. And I believe that the blessings He has granted can only be secured by his Holy Religion and the virtue, integrity and uprightness, which accompany or flow from it. I believe that the word of His Truth, and the Gospel of His Salvation, is the bulwark of National defencc, impregnable, and the conservator of National prosperity, incorruptible. You may call this the cant of the pulpit, if you please; and it is painfully true that you will hear it from few of the Tribunes of the people, but those erected in the House of God. But it is none the less true because said from this place, or left unsaid at the hustings and in the Halls of Legislation. We have learned from sad experience, that we have no ground of confidence in man nor in aught that man has done; nor in any mere forms nor past successes. And if we are to hope at all, we must hope in God and in the Gospel of his Son.

The present agitation and impending danger may pass away, and leave us still unharmed and on the highway of National prosperity. You may have civilization and refinement, and wealth and power; may achieve greater triumphs than any yet achieved; you may cover this broad Continent with the monuments of your art, your progress, and your might. But the mournful

voices of the Past, uttered from the wastes of desolation and from the sepulchres of buried greatness, warn you that whoso putteth his trust in man, and in an arm of flesh, shall surely be confounded. But they tell you also by their melancholy failure and confession; and their testimony is confirmed by the voices of Reason, Faith and Inspiration, that whoso putteth his trust in the Lord shall be safe: that while sin is a reproach and ruin to any people, Righteousness exalteth a Nation, and is the only and all sufficient basis of its Peace, its Liberty and Honor, its perpetuity and all its true prosperity. Happy is that people that is in such a case, yea, happy is that people whose God is the Lord.

To which Lord God, be ascribed, as is most due, all might, majesty, dominion and glory, world without end, AMEN.

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